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# A History of *Harpers' Latin Dictionary*

Francis Jacques Sypher, Jr.

“IMPUDENT FELLOWS” Lewis and Short were once called by the strong-worded Cambridge lexicographer, J. E. B. Mayor. But their Latin dictionary has served students well for nearly a hundred years. In this biblio-biographical study I have undertaken to tell the story of the book and of the men who shaped it to its final form, and by the way to contribute to that neglected field, the history of American classical scholarship in the nineteenth century. But the ancestry of Lewis and Short's book, like that of most Americans themselves, must be sought in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The foundation of Lewis and Short's work, as indicated on the title page of *Harpers' Latin Dictionary* (New York and Oxford, 1879), was the “Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon Edited by E. A. Andrews.” But their earliest original goes uncredited, as an investigation of Freund's book will show.

Wilhelm Freund was born in 1806 at Kempen in the Prussian province of Posen, and studied at Berlin and Breslau from 1824 to 1828. In subsequent years he taught at Jewish community schools, and edited a journal, *Zur Judenfrage in Deutschland* (1843-1844); but from 1870 until his death in 1894, Freund devoted himself to the production of

<sup>1</sup>I should like to thank Professor Gilbert Highet for suggesting this topic and generously advising me on it; the references to G. T. Strong and T. R. Glover (notes 11 and 28) are his. I am grateful to Mr. Eugene Exman and Mrs. Lucia Withers at Harper & Row, who gave me valuable references and access to unpublished material in the Contract Books, Memorandum Books, and other volumes in Harper's archives (quotations are by permission of Harper & Row); to Mr. Victor Schmalzer at American Book Company for allowing me to use their relevant files; to Judith A. Schiff, Chief Research Archivist, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, who located portraits of Lewis (note 20), one of which is reproduced here; to Mr. Herbert Cahoon, Curator of Autograph Manuscripts, The Pierpont Morgan Library, who kindly brought to my attention an important letter by Charles Short (note 22); and to the General Reference and Bibliography Division of the Library of Congress for sending otherwise inaccessible information. I must especially thank Dr. Charles Lyman Short for his cordial encouragement, as well as for permission to quote from unpublished letters by his grandfather, Professor Short, and for providing the photograph of him which is copied here from an original print.

scholarly works, most of which have lasted less well than his *Wörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache, nach historisch-genetischen Principien, mit steter Berücksichtigung der Grammatik, Synonymik und Alterthumskunde bearbeitet. Nebst mehreren Beilagen linguistischen und archäologischen Inhalts* (4 Bdc., Leipzig, 1834-1845).

On the appearance of the first volume of Freund's dictionary, in 1834, critics hailed the opening of a "new era" in Latin lexicography. In an impressive preface, Freund established the system and method of lexicography as an "objective science." He also made the extraordinary claim that he had applied this "science" in compiling his dictionary from the original Latin texts. This is an unlikely accomplishment for a man of twenty-eight — even with his qualification that previous lexicons "contribute a very great share to the completeness of the information." After the praises of the first reviewers had died down, two critics noticed the inaccuracy of Freund's citations, and another pointed out Freund's virtually unacknowledged debt to the *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* (4 vols., Padua, 1771), the lifetime work of Egidio Forcellini (1688-1768), who is said to have read in its original context every passage he cited. According to J. E. B. Mayor, Freund, after working carefully on a few letters, "grew tired and confined himself to a hurried abridgement of Forcellini." Conrad Bursian in 1883 coolly summed up Freund's *Wörterbuch* as "wenig mehr als eine Compilation aus Forcellini."<sup>2</sup>

The real foundation, then, of Lewis and Short is the lexicon of Forcellini, as abridged and translated or traduced by Freund, his version in turn being done into English by American scholars. Even with its corrupt citations, Freund's "compilation" has at least the virtue of making Forcellini's great work conveniently available, but he inevit-

<sup>2</sup> On Freund, see *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isidore Singer (New York & London, 1906), V, 509-510; cf. *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, 6. Aufl. (1905), VII, 95-96. The full title of his work is taken from the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (LXXIX, 548). Freund's preface is translated in Andrews' *Lexicon*. See the comments on Freund by F. Heerdegen, "Lateinische Lexikographie," in F. Stolz and J. H. Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik* (Handbuch series), 3. Aufl. (München, 1900), pp. 518-520, 506 n. 2. On Forcellini, see J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1908, repr. N.Y., 1964), II, 374-378. The critical reception of Freund's dictionary is described by K. E. Georges in his review of Lewis and Short, see below, note 25, where the source of Mayor's comment is also given. Conrad Bursian, *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland*, in *Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Deutschland*, *Neuere Zeit*, 19<sup>er</sup> Band, zweite Hälfte (München und Leipzig, 1883; repr. N.Y., 1965), p. 787.

ably passed on Forcellini's limitations as well as his strengths: as a result, in those who follow Freund, including Lewis and Short, their "canons covering the whole field of Latinity often crumble, when sifted, into an inference from Forcellini's silence."<sup>3</sup>

Freund's German detractors seem to have been little heeded in America, for on 9 June 1846, a year after the last volume of the *Wörterbuch* came out, Harper and Brothers in New York engaged E. A. Andrews to prepare, within three years, an English version, which was copyrighted 28 November 1850 and published 10 January 1851, with a somewhat misleading title page: A / Copious and Critical / Latin-English Lexicon, / founded on the / Larger Latin-German Lexicon of / Dr. William Freund: / with / Additions and Corrections from the Lexicons of Gesner, / Facciolati, Scheller, Georges, etc. / By E. A. Andrews, LL.D. / New York: / Harper & Brothers, Publishers, / 82 Cliff Street. / 1851.

The editor of this dictionary, Ethan Allen Andrews (1787-1858), Yale 1810, began his career as a lawyer, but in 1822 became professor of ancient languages at Chapel Hill, and after 1828 taught at schools in New Haven and in Boston, where he edited a journal that promised both edification and amusement: *The Religious Magazine and Family Miscellany*. In 1839 Andrews returned to the town of his birth, New Britain, Connecticut, where he prepared Latin textbooks and was elected to the State Legislature.<sup>4</sup> The Harpers probably thought that Andrews' reputation would help sell their new dictionary, which became known as "Andrews' Lexicon"; but the actual translation of Freund was done by others. William Wadden Turner (1810-1859), professor of oriental literature at Union Theological Seminary, translated D-Z, or three quarters of the whole; R. D. C. Robbins (1811-1882), a graduate of Middlebury (1835) and professor of languages there from 1848 to 1872, did letters A-C; and T.D. Woolsey (1801-1889), professor at and later president of Yale, translated Freund's pref-

<sup>3</sup> J. E. B. Mayor in *Pliny's Letters, Book III*, Text of H. Keil, with a commentary by J. E. B. Mayor (London and Cambridge, 1880), p. viii — quoted in Alexander Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford, 1949), p. iii.

<sup>4</sup> *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography*, ed. J. G. Wilson and John Fiske (New York, 1888), I, 75; *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography* (copyright 1906, repr. 1967), XIII, 416. The initial agreement between Harper & Brothers and Andrews is in the Contract Books, I, 144-145. The date of publication of Andrews' *Lexicon* is from William H. Demarest's MS Catalogue of Harper Publications, 1817-1879, p. 21.



ace. Andrews was assisted by another (thanked but not named), perhaps his son, Horace Andrews, or his daughter, Julia Hooker Andrews (Wilson), who later worked on the revision of Andrews and on *Webster's International Dictionary* and the *Century Dictionary*.<sup>5</sup>

Their version of Freund is both a translation and a condensation. Freund's dictionary ran to about 4,500 pages, which were trimmed down by shortening or omitting Latin quotations while preserving references. But the American edition contained new words and proper names, and translations of difficult Latin examples — a feature which was carried over into Lewis and Short, to the encouragement of the student, who in searching for the meaning of a hard phrase has a chance of finding a miniature trot in his dictionary.

The making of the lexicon was, for publisher and printer, a big undertaking. The finished product had 1,651 pages of text, laid out in triple columns of the same six-point type as the later edition by Lewis and Short. The editors apparently sent in the manuscript bit by bit so that the text could be set up (by hand), plates made, and the type distributed to be used again. Harper's version of Liddell and Scott was done this way, and took five years to complete. For the "literary labor" of the lexicon the Harpers paid Andrews the substantial sum of \$6,000. It was the editor's responsibility to "procure" the translation, and no record remains of payments to the other contributors or to Freund.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On Turner, see [Caroline W. H. Dall] *In Memoriam: Susan Wadden Turner, Professor William Wadden Turner, Jane Wadden Turner* [Washington, 1898]; *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, IX, 198-199. Few of the books Turner worked on have his name on the title page; some of them are listed in William J. Rhees, *Catalogue of the Publications of the Smithsonian Institution 1846-1882*, Smithsonian misc. pub. 478. Of special interest is Turner's "Letter on Indian Philology," in *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1851* (Washington, 1852), pp. 97-101. See also his contributions to A. W. Whipple et al., *Report upon the Indian Tribes* (Washington, 1854); Randolph B. Marcy et al., *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana* (Washington, 1853); Hermann E. Ludwig, *The Literature of American Aboriginal Languages* (London, 1858); and his translation from the German of F. von Raumer, *America and the American People* (New York, 1846). On Robbins, see *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography*, V, 271. On Woolsey, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 519-520; his translation of Freund's preface was first published in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, II (1845), 79-107. Horace Andrews published an edition of *Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics* (Boston, 1862). On Andrews' daughter, see *The National Cyclopædia*, XIII, 416.

<sup>6</sup> A. H. Guernsey, "Making the Magazine," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXII (Dec. 1865-May 1866), 1-31; on Liddell and Scott, see p. 12. On Harper's payments, see *Contract Books*, I, 144, and F[rederick]. S[aunders], "The Publishing

The early reviews of Andrews are favorable, but not closely critical. The English reviewer for the *Athenæum* makes a point of giving credit to the translators; the American journal, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, gives a list of "slight errors and oversights"; and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* predictably belauds the "substantial volume" which "will reflect great credit on the progress of sound learning in this country."<sup>7</sup>

Andrews was a success in America, where it superseded the *Lexicon* edited by F. P. Leverett (Boston, 1837; revised with additions from Freund, 1850). In England, Sampson Low produced an edition of Andrews from duplicate plates; by this arrangement the Harpers over a period of five years recovered more than a third of the whole editorial costs of their lexicon.<sup>8</sup> But an English rival to Andrews soon appeared. In 1855, William Smith brought out his *Latin-English Dictionary*, which is said to have been a slightly revised edition of the American work. The Harpers at once began making plans for their own new edition, which after many delays appeared twenty-four years later, under the names of Lewis and Short.

The first step towards this new edition of Andrews was taken in 1856, when Harper's asked Freund to supply revisions. Andrews, for his part, agreed to check Freund's "English phraseology," and make "such additions to or retrenchments from the copy so furnished him, as he shall deem important for the improvement" of the lexicon, delivering each parcel of revised copy within six months of receiving it from Freund. At this rate, the whole revision would have been completed by 1859. For his share of the work, Andrews was to be paid \$3,000 plus up to \$500 worth of necessary books.

Business," *Littell's Living Age*, XXIV (Jan.-Mar. 1850), 274 (repr. from *Literary World* [London], 5 Jan. 1850); J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper: A Century of Publishing in Franklin Square* (New York & London, 1912), p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> *The Athenæum*, No. 1244 [Vol. XXIV] (30 Aug. 1851), 919-920; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, VIII (1851), 647-649; *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, II (Dec. 1850-May 1851), 282-283.

<sup>8</sup> Copies of Andrews listed in *The National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints* (XVI, 377-378), have title pages with dates for every year from 1851 to 1878 except 1863, 1871, 1876, and 1877; there is no record which of these are actual reprintings, and which have only a new date on the title page. Harper's renewed the copyright on Andrews for fourteen years from 28 Nov. 1878, when the first term of twenty-eight years expired; see *Memorandum Books*, IV (1874-1879), 460. The agreement between Harper & Brothers and Low (1852) is in the *Contract Books*, I, 97. The *British Museum General Catalogue* (V, 306) lists copies of the London edition dated 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1855. See Eugene Exman, *The Brothers Harper* (New York, 1965), p. 269.

The first setback to the Harpers' project came with the death of Andrews on 4 March 1858. The task of revision was taken over by Horace Andrews and Henry Drisler — professor of Latin and Greek at Columbia, and one of Harper's most productive classical editors; but Drisler soon advised Harper's "that a reconstruction of the work was desirable, such as he could not command leisure to make." Drisler's advice may have been prompted by the news that another dictionary based on Andrews was already being done in England — with revisions by Freund. Freund had in 1852–1853 sold Messrs. Longman in London a collection of revisions to be used by J. E. Riddle in making a new dictionary based on "Andrews's Freund." These materials were finally handed over to John T. White, who re-edited them and added many words from the Vulgate and from ecclesiastical writers; the *Latin-English Dictionary* by White and Riddle — as it boldly proclaimed itself on the title page — appeared in London in 1862. With this work on the English market, Harper's revision of Andrews would have to contain considerably more — in order to compete effectively — than the new materials by Freund, even though they were different from the ones he had sold to Longman's. So the entire responsibility for the revision of Andrews was transferred in 1866 to a new editor who was willing to "reconstruct" the work — the President of Kenyon College, Charles Short.<sup>9</sup>

Charles Short (1821–1886) was throughout his life a conscientious scholar. He was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, went first to the West Bradford Academy, and at the age of sixteen entered Phillips Andover, graduating in 1840. Short's enthusiasm for study is evident in his recollection: "I used to open my eyes very early in the morning, waiting impatiently for daylight, that I might rise and be at my books."<sup>10</sup> And it is said that when neither teachers nor library could

<sup>9</sup> On Smith's dictionary, see Charles Short's note, cited below, note 24. The agreement between Harper's and Andrews to revise the *Lexicon* (8 May 1856) is in Contract Books, I, 271–272; Freund's proposal (4 Apr. 1856), I, 268–269; Drisler and H. Andrews (28 Sept. 1858 & 1 Dec. 1858), I, 349–350; Drisler's advice is from the "Publishers' Advertisement" to *Harpers' Latin Dictionary*. Freund's agreement with Longman's is described in Contract Books (30 Aug. 1858), I, 490–492; Short's acceptance of editing (12 Feb. 1866), II, 116–117; (15 Feb. 1866), 114; (21 & 24 Feb. 1866), I, 508.

<sup>10</sup> [Charles Lancaster Short] *Charles Short* ([Portland, Me.] 1891), p. 4 (a memoir with a list of his writings and reprints of memorials to him, 39 pp.). Cf. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 126–127; *New-York Tribune*, 25 December 1886, p. 5. There is a portrait of Charles Short at the Roxbury Latin School; a notice of



satisfy him on a difficult point, he once walked twenty miles from Andover to Cambridge to find the answer in the Harvard library. The industrious pupil continued his studies at Harvard, where he graduated in 1846, fourth in a class which included Francis J. Child, George M. Lane, and Charles Eliot Norton. He stayed for a year to work with E. A. Sophocles, author of the *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Boston, 1870), who in 1863 ranked Short at the head of all the students he had instructed in Greek.

After leaving Harvard, Short taught briefly at Andover, and from November 1847 to 1853 was headmaster of the Roxbury Latin School, and afterwards of a school which he founded in Philadelphia. From there in 1863 he went to the presidency of Kenyon College, which prospered during his stay. But in 1867 some of the townspeople darkly charged that "defects of a serious character exist in the discipline of Kenyon College." Whatever this meant, Short was exempted from blame, and no action was taken against any of the faculty; but two teachers resigned, and Short left for Columbia, where he was elected Professor of Latin on 2 March 1868.<sup>11</sup>

At Columbia Short remained until his death in 1886; and his teaching made strong impressions on those who knew him. On the one hand are the ambitious young men who intended to make a great, enlightened university out of the small, eccentric college with a faculty of eight (including President Barnard). Nicholas Murray Butler, class of '82, called Short a "pedant." And John W. Burgess, in emphasizing the importance of his own contribution to Columbia, speaks of Drisler as a pedant, and of Short as even more of a pedant. Burgess goes out of his way to find fault with Short, both the man and the teacher — labelling him a "Mr. Casaubon," who "did not imbue his pupils with the spirit of the language or its literature." Personal dislike seems to have distorted the reformer's vision.<sup>12</sup>

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him, with a photograph, appeared in the school newspaper, *The Tripod* (Nov. 1910). Engraved portraits of Lewis and Short, among other "American Philologists," appear on the front page of the "Educational Supplement to Harper's Weekly" issued with *Harper's Weekly*, XXVII, No. 1381 (9 June 1883).

<sup>11</sup> George Franklin Smythe, *Kenyon College: Its First Century* (New Haven, 1924), pp. 193-194; cf. 205, 235, 320 (with a photograph of Short). An account of the Columbia Trustees' meeting at which Short was elected is given in *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, ed. by Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas (New York, 1952), IV, 194.

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Murray Butler, *Across the Busy Years* (New York & London, 1939),



In striking contrast with the unsympathetic remarks of Butler and Burgess, are the comments of two students of a more literary turn of mind. Brander Matthews remembered Short as "a man of many amusing peculiarities, but possessed of real learning and inspired by a genuine love of letters. He opened my eyes to the charm of Horace." And Harry Thurston Peck, who became a professor of Latin at Columbia, praised Short for leading his students to view the classics not as syntactical puzzles, but as living literature, which he "unfolded, rendered into exquisitely idiomatic English, analyzed and viewed in every light, and then made clear as crystal by a wealth of illustration, comment, anecdote, and criticism."<sup>13</sup>

Aside from his portion of the Latin dictionary, Short's main contributions to scholarship were: a so-called "Essay" on "The Order of Words in Attic Greek Prose," prefixed to Yonge's *English-Greek Lexicon* as edited by Drisler (New York, 1870) — the "Essay" extends to a hundred and fifteen large, closely printed pages, and contains "some fifteen thousand citations and references"; and, in the *American Journal of Philology*, a series of five minutely detailed articles which grew out of his work on the New Testament part of the committee to revise the Authorized Version of the Bible.<sup>14</sup> A distinctive item among Short's "literary remains" is a small volume of *Short Commentaries on the Latin Language and Literature* (Printed for the Gemot, At the Sign of the Tankard, 1905) — odd and amusing anecdotes taken down by Harry Thurston Peck during Short's classes.

When Short took over the editing of "Andrews" from Horace Andrews and Henry Drisler, he had submitted a detailed proposal for pp. 66-67; cf. 94. John W. Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar: The Beginnings of Columbia University* (New York, 1934; repr. N.Y., 1966), pp. 164-165; cf. 171.

<sup>13</sup> Brander Matthews, *These Many Years: Recollections of a New Yorker* (New York, 1917), p. 110. H. T. Peck, Obituary of Short in *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Convocation of the University of the State of New York, Held July 5th, 6th and 7th, 1887, being a part of the 101st Annual Report of the Regents of the University* (1887), p. 222 (this passage is quoted in the memoir, *Charles Short*, pp. 19-20).

<sup>14</sup> "The New Revision of King James' Revision of the New Testament," *American Journal of Philology*, II (1881), 149-180; III (1882), 139-169; IV (1883), 253-282; V (1884), 417-453; VII (1886), 283-309; see the *Catalogue of the Biblical, Classical & Miscellaneous Library of the late Charles Short, Professor of Latin in Columbia College, and one of the Revisers of the Bible, To Be Sold at Auction, Monday, May 2d, and following day, 1887, by Bangs & Company, 739 and 741 Broadway, New York*.

the improvement of the lexicon. He intended: to go carefully over Freund's corrections; to revise the etymologies from the latest and best works; to introduce some words from ecclesiastical Latin (but not so many as to infringe on White and Riddle); to write a preface describing the relation of the new work to those of Smith and of White and Riddle; and to read the proofs once. At the discretion of the publishers he proposed to introduce illustrations from "the antique," and to have other scholars contribute their knowledge of special authors; but the Harpers took their option to reject these suggestions. For this ambitious project Short allowed himself three years. But four years later, in 1870, the work was still unfinished, and in answer to a letter from Harper's, Short wrote on 11 July:

You can best judge what it is for your interest to do in regard to the Latin Dictionary. I willingly give up the project of editing it for the sake of doing other things less laborious & protracted. Were it done in this country, I think it would be better that several persons should work upon it conjointly, & in that case I should like to take one department of the work.

There is no record of what further efforts the Harpers made to find a suitable editor. Short continued to do some work, for on 14 September 1871, Harper's sent him "23 pcls. *Bottiaea* to *Facio*" of the "Freund-Andrews material." But it was not until the beginning of 1874 that they engaged the efficient editor who was to bring the work smoothly and at last to completion: Charlton T. Lewis.<sup>15</sup>

Charlton Thomas Lewis (1834-1904) possessed a keen mind and restless energies. At one time or another he was minister, teacher, lawyer, government official, journalist, and prison reformer — as well as scholar. He was born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, and after attending the West Chester Academy, went to Yale, where he excelled in languages and mathematics. Upon graduating in 1853 he began the study of law at West Chester, but in 1854 prepared for the Methodist ministry, and in 1857 turned to teaching languages, first at the Normal University of Illinois at Bloomington, and from 1859 to 1862 at the short-lived University at Troy, New York, where he taught Greek and mathematics. From this period dates his translation, with M. R. Vincent, of J. A. Bengel's *Gnomon of the New Testament* (2 vols., Philadelphia and New York, 1860-1862). Lewis returned briefly to

<sup>15</sup> Short's original proposal is in the Contract Books, II, 114-115 (19 Aug. 1865); his letter is in Contract Books, II, 84; "23 pcls.," II, 125 (14 Sept. 1871); agreement between Harper & Brothers and Lewis (2 Jan. 1874), II, 455-457.

his duties in the Methodist Church, but in December 1862 became deputy commissioner of internal revenue, serving under his father, Joseph Jackson Lewis. In 1865 he began to practice law in New York, but after two years the pace of his varied career caught up with him and he spent a year in Europe, recovering from the effects of "over-work."<sup>16</sup>

When Lewis came back in 1868, he joined the editorial staff of William Cullen Bryant's New York *Evening Post*. Early in 1871, the managing editor, Charles Nordhoff, was asked to take a "long vacation," and Lewis took his place. When Bryant was absent, the managing editor ran the paper. His staff, in those far away days of newspaper work, consisted of six men: an assistant to the managing editor, a city editor, telegraph editor, financial editor, and two reporters — one on salary and one "on space." One of the staff members later recalled that Lewis' greatest attention was devoted "to the supervision of the editorial page, for which he wrote with his usual fluency, cogency, and eloquence."<sup>17</sup>

After less than a year as managing editor of the *Evening Post*, Lewis resumed the practice of law, which remained his principal professional occupation for the rest of his life. Although he specialized in corporation law, he became an authority on insurance and an advocate of prison reforms, all the while continuing his literary work.

Lewis' connection with the Harpers dates at least from 1872, when he gave them legal advice to protect their rights to Andrews' *Lexicon*. Harper's had learned that Ginn Brothers in Boston were selling copies of White and Riddle's dictionary, which, since it was founded on Andrews, infringed on Harper's American copyright. They asked Ginn Brothers to withdraw all copies from the market and pay Lewis' fees — \$125. In concluding the correspondence, the Harpers, on 18 December 1872, sent Ginn Brothers a letter, perhaps composed by Lewis, in which they defined their object:

simply to protect ourselves and American scholarship against the illegal exportation of London publishers to this country, and the injustice & insolence of English classical editors, who avail themselves, and that without decent acknowl-

<sup>16</sup> *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, XI, 62 and XXXVIII, 549-550 (with portraits). Cf. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 208-209; New York *Evening Post*, 27 May 1904, p. 7; *Harper's Weekly*, XLVIII (11 June 1904), 890-891.

<sup>17</sup> Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism* (New York, 1922), pp. 421-423; cf. 397.



edgement, of the labors of our scholars. We do not object — indeed, we accept it as a compliment, — that in various forms they use & clumsily misuse Dr. Andrews's book, but we do object to their selling in our own country a bastard Anglo-American lexicography to our pecuniary loss & disadvantage.

The affair had a somewhat anti-climactic sequel, for on 22 September 1873, Harper's wrote anew to Ginn Brothers: "We have been informed that you are selling *White & Riddle's Latin-English Dictionary*. We beg leave to inquire if our information is correct?" There is no record of further correspondence.<sup>18</sup>

In 1874, the Harpers published Lewis' *History of Germany*, based on David Müller's *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* (2. Aufl., Berlin, 1867). And for many years, Lewis was a reader for the Harpers.<sup>19</sup> His insight is evident in his prediction that Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur* (1880) would find "eager readers and lenient critics." Among Lewis' later publications are *A Latin Dictionary for Schools* (1889), and a more simplified *Elementary Latin Dictionary* (1891), both of which are still in print. He also edited *Harper's Book of Facts* (1895), supervised a translation of *The Love Letters of Bismarck* (1901), and wrote numerous reviews and articles on law, insurance, and prisons. Lewis belonged to the Greek Club of New York, and for forty years attended its winter meetings, at which the members, reading together, went "more than once through the entire range of Greek literature." The night and morning before his final illness he spent at the Columbia library studying Dante.<sup>20</sup>

Lewis agreed with Harper and Brothers on 2 January 1874 to assume the work of preparing and editing the revised version of Andrews "from the beginning of the letter D. to the end of the alphabet upon the general plan devised & already in part carried out" by Charles Short. But the contract provided that Harper's could ask Lewis to prepare any

<sup>18</sup> The correspondence is in the Contract Books, II, 500-512 (4 Dec. 1872-22 Sept. 1873).

<sup>19</sup> Memorandum Books, V (1879-1881), 490; cf. 493; VI (Jan. '83-Dec. '86), 366, 430, 472, 543. Cf. Eugene Exman, *The House of Harper: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing* (New York, 1967), p. 149. The following criticism is quoted in J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper*, p. 268.

<sup>20</sup> *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University Deceased from June, 1900, to June, 1910* (New Haven, 1910), p. 326. A list of Lewis' writings is in *The Class of 'Fifty-three in Yale College, A Supplementary History concluding the fifth decade* (New Haven, 1903), pp. 116-118. Portraits of Lewis appear in the *Yale Photograph Album* (1853); and in *The Yale College Class of 1853* (New Haven [ca. 1880]), facing p. 175 — this picture is reproduced here.

part of the copy under A, B, and C, which Short "shall not have completed." In the midst of his many other professional activities, Lewis worked on the dictionary "into the small hours of the night," and finished it with remarkable speed.<sup>21</sup> On 13 June 1878 he received the last of three installments of the \$6,000 he was paid for editing D-Z. By January 1878, Short had finished A, B, and C, and had had the copy delivered to Harper's, but, in an unhappy conclusion to his work, he found that Harper's had somehow lost the copy for B and C. These parts were finally completed by Lewis, who, on 22 October 1878, received additional payment at a proportionate rate. For doing A (about one-tenth of the whole), Short was paid \$847.85, which he acknowledged on 6 February 1879, after having worked on the dictionary for thirteen years. It is easy to sympathize with the tone of his comment that he "devoted more time and learning to that one letter" than Lewis "did to all the rest."<sup>22</sup>

Other contributors to the revision of Andrews were: Gustavus Fischer, a professor at Rutgers from 1859 to 1868, who supplied the elaborate articles on *contra*, 2. *cum*, *sic*, *sisto*, *solvo*, *sums*, *tum*, *tunc*, *volo*, and others, the total amounting to at least thirty-four solid pages; George M. Lane of Harvard, and George W. Collord of New York read much of the proof; and John Jackson of New York, from November 1878 to April 1879 read J-M, P, Q, and several other parts, at the rate of twenty-five cents a page; Mrs. Julia H. Wilson, E. A. Andrews' daughter, worked on the dictionary from March to August 1878 at the rate of ten dollars a week. The proof-reading alone cost the Harpers over twenty-two hundred dollars; and the whole editorial costs — not including composition and electrotyping — came to "nearly twenty thousand dollars before a page was put to press."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Memoir of Lewis in *Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York. For the Year 1903* (Albany, 1904), p. 83 (with a photograph of Lewis, and a list of his writings on prisons).

<sup>22</sup> Lewis' receipts, in *Contract Books*, II, 457. Short's letter (16 January 1878) to the Harpers about the lost copy is at the Pierpont Morgan Library. Short's receipts are in *Contract Books*, II, 518; his remark is in his *Commentaries*, No. VII.

<sup>23</sup> On Gustavus Fischer, see William H. S. Demarest, *A History of Rutgers College 1766-1924* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1924), pp. 385, 420. Fischer published a *Latin Grammar*, 2 vols. (New York, 1876; earlier ed. copyright 1866). On Lane, see *DAB*, X, 573-574. Collord published a *Latin Accidence and Primary Lesson Book* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1861). On Lane and Collord's proof-reading, see "Publishers' Advertisement" in the Harper edition of the Latin dictionary; and *Memorandum Books*, IV (1874-1879), 314-315; on John Jackson, see IV, 388; Julia



PLATE I  
CHARLES SHORT  
1821-1886

*Reproduced by permission  
of Dr. Charles L. Short*





*Charlton T. Lewis*

PLATE II  
CHARLTON THOMAS LEWIS  
1834-1904

*Reproduced by permission of  
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Yale University Library*

Harper's sent a portion of the proofs to Bartholomew Price, secretary to the delegates of the Clarendon Press, who in December 1877 declared themselves "willing to undertake the sale of the book on terms to be agreed on . . . so that there should be simultaneous publication in England and America." The Harpers soon sent more proof, and the secretary answered on 5 February 1878 that the delegates had been confirmed in their first impression that "Lewis and Short" was "a great improvement" over "Andrews" and over the dictionaries printed in England of White and Riddle and of Dr. William Smith; they were "prepared to purchase plates and to pay a royalty on all copies sold." The plates were shipped in seventeen batches between 22 October 1878 and 21 August 1879, and paid for at the rate of 6/6 per page, for a total of £660/8. The royalty was ten per cent of the "sale price" (slightly less than retail price) for all copies of the dictionary sold by the Clarendon Press.

The book was published by the fall of 1879, with a handsome title page in roman and black-letter type in red and black: Harpers' Latin Dictionary / A New / Latin Dictionary / Founded on the Translation of / Freund's Latin-German Lexicon / Edited by E. A. Andrews, LL.D. / Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Rewritten / By Charlton T. Lewis, Ph.D. / and / Charles Short, LL.D. / Professor of Latin in Columbia College, N.Y. / [Harpers' device, with the motto: ΛΑΜΠΙΑΔΙΑ ΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΑΔΩΣΟΤΕΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΙΣ.] / New York / Harper & Brothers, Publishers / Franklin Square / Oxford: At the Clarendon Press / 1879. Of the first edition two thousand copies were printed by Harper and Brothers. The prefaces of Andrews and Freund are omitted, as well as Freund's appendixes. Of introductory matter the new dictionary has a brief "Publishers' Advertisement" (pp. iii-iv); an "Orthographical Index" — that is, a list of preferred spellings (pp. v-vi); and lists of abbreviations and works cited (pp. vii-xiv). The actual text runs to 2,019 pages, of which roughly one fifth is new to this version.

The editors' idea of a dictionary included proper names of persons and places, comparative etymologies, histories of sound-changes for

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H. Wilson, IV, 313. On editorial costs, see J. Henry Harper, *The House of Harper*, pp. 71-72; the following letters from Oxford are in the same work, pp. 447-450. Information on the sale of plates and royalties is in the Memorandum Books, IV, 389. The number of copies first printed by Harper's is in Memorandum Books, V (1879-1882), 2.

individual letters, and a good deal of information that nowadays would be put in a classical encyclopedia rather than in a lexicon. Short told his students:

My article on *aes* in the Latin dictionary cost me a great deal of labor, for it involved much scientific research. Now that it is done, I consider it the most complete and at the same time the most entertaining article in any dictionary. It has more information on the subject than you can find in any encyclopædia, and there are some learned things there that no one had ever brought out before. (*Short Commentaries*, No. CLXXVIII.)

This partially explains why Short took so long to do his share of the dictionary.

Of the revisers' methods, the "Publishers' Advertisement" says only that they used Freund's notes "freely, and in combination with all other appropriate sources, in compiling a Latin Lexicon which should meet the advanced requirements of the times." More precise information is given in a "Note" of Short's in the obscure pages of the briefly published *Oriental Church Magazine*.<sup>24</sup> Among sources for new articles, enlargements of existing articles, and "the development" of Freund's citations, Short mentions Klotz's Latin-German Dictionary (1858), Corradini's edition of Forcellini (as far as P), Merguet's Lexicon to Cicero's orations (as far as E), Greef's Lexicon to Tacitus (as far as E), and the works of Curtius and Vaniček on Latin and Greek etymology. The works which Lewis and Short omitted to consult are duly recorded by reviewers.

The reviews of Lewis and Short's dictionary may be divided into two groups. On the one hand are advertisements or notices, as in the English *Athenæum*; *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, comparing the book to other Latin dictionaries — English, French, and German — finds it, not surprisingly, far superior. On the other hand are reviews by J. E. B. Mayor, H. Nettleship, and K. E. Georges — Latin lexicographers who subject the dictionary to learned criticism.<sup>25</sup>

To J. E. B. Mayor, who criticized the dictionary at a meeting of the

<sup>24</sup> *The Oriental Church Magazine, Devoted to Religion, Science, Literature, and Art*, ed. by Rev. Nicholas Bjerring, published in New York and St. Petersburg (Russia), I, No. 4 (Dec. 1879), 350.

<sup>25</sup> *Athenæum*, No. 2719 [Vol. LXXIV] (6 Dec. 1879), 721-722; *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LX (Dec. 1879-May 1880), 148-149; Mayor in *Cambridge University Reporter*, No. 303 (28 Oct. 1879), 73-74; Nettleship in *The Academy*, XVII (13 March 1880), 199-201; K. E. Georges in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, XXIII (1880), 393-398.



Cambridge Philological Society on 16 October 1879, Lewis and Short is far from the ideal dictionary, which should contain all the words of authors and monuments down to Bede, and give an accurate history of each, "naming the earliest authority." But he regards the new lexicon as "very much more copious and trustworthy than any other of the same bulk, that has as yet appeared in any language." Comparing Lewis and Short to White and Riddle for the words from *ditonus* to the end of D, he finds "22 words in LS. not in W. or (e.g. *din*) supported by better evidence." But most of the new words are in the Latin-German lexicon of Georges; and "LS." omits sixteen words in "W." — mostly from later authors. Still more omissions result from their neglect of the materials of Rönsch, Paucker, Mühlmann, the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863–), and Victor Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* (1870). Among examples of "traditional errors in citation," Mayor gives the following, accompanied by his own vigorous comments:

*ininterpretabilis* 'Hebr. v 11' (so Scheller, Corradini, De Vit). The Germ. ed. of Forc., not much at home in his Bible, prints v 71 (the ch. has 14 verses!); Freund, Hudemann in Klotz, W., LS. follow suit.

*ocularis* (Forc. 'oculares tunicae Veg. vet. n 17. *ocularis medicus* inscr.' Freund, W., LS., Smith 1st ed. wed the wrong couple, joining Veg. vet. with what follows).

*rumino* Ov. hal. 119 ruminat herbas (fish turned out to grass. So Scheller, Fr., W., LS., yet under *epastus* they cite the true *escas*).

Mayor concludes that few nineteenth-century lexicons can implicitly be trusted; "none of the books founded on Freund check that treacherous compiler by a collation of his source," and his general statements apply, "not to the great field of Latin literature, but to Forcellini's book alone." But looking forward, Mayor rings out: "Each of our ancient universities is now engaged on a new Latin lexicon, and we know that the work spent on each will be honest and thorough. May each editor have strength to bring the long labour to a happy issue, to the glory of his *Alma Mater*, and the common good of the republic of letters."

Speaking for that other "ancient university," Henry Nettleship echoes some of Mayor's comments in naming three duties of the Latin lexicographer in the present state of scholarship: to cleanse an "Augean stable of false references and inaccurate interpretations"; to include the results of recent research; and to establish brief but accurate etymologies. He would include proper names as words, but save space by

omitting "irrelevant matter" which belongs more properly to a dictionary of biography or antiquities (cf. *accumbo*) — or to the study of phonology (cf. A). In spite of reservations on these points, Nettleship sees in Lewis and Short a "real advance on any previous Latin-English dictionary" (but he calls the lexicon of Georges the best of its size). Nettleship especially commends Lewis and Short's corrected orthography, etymologies, insertion of new references, and correction of false ones.

K. E. Georges has little of general interest to add to the comments of Mayor and Nettleship. He finds Lewis and Short's version a new work, different from Freund, and on the whole done with great industry. After noting their use of some products of recent German scholarship — and their neglect of others — he gives three and a half pages of errors, many of them misnumbered citations carried over from Freund. Georges' point of view is apparent in an oft recurring phrase that sounds its last at the end of the whole article: "siehe in meinem Handwörterbuche."

Of the subsequent history of Lewis and Short there is little to add. Harper and Brothers, after all their successes since the founding of the firm in 1817, suffered financial difficulties in the nineties, and on 4 December 1899 went into receivership. In 1890 they had sold their schoolbooks to the recently formed American Book Company, and just before the collapse Harper's sold them their college texts and scholarly reference books.<sup>26</sup> The Latin dictionary retained its old name, the text of the title page being unchanged except for a new device and the new legend: New York · Cincinnati · Chicago / American Book Company. The publisher's *Descriptive Catalogue* for 1901 quotes under the notice of *Harpers' Latin Dictionary* a delightfully ambiguous comment by J. E. B. Mayor: "As a hand lexicon, to lie on the desk and receive corrections and additions in the margin, no existing book in any language is so useful as this."

In 1907 the copyright was renewed by Mrs. Margaret S. Lewis. Some reprints made after this date have on page vi a list of "Addenda et Corrigenda." The price for many years was ten dollars a copy,

<sup>26</sup> Eugene Exman, *The House of Harper*, pp. 181, 172, 187. *The National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints* (XVI, 383-384), lists copies of the Harper edition of Lewis and Short having the following dates on the title page: 1879, 1880, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1889, 1891, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1898, 1899. There is no indication which of these are actual reprintings.

bound in buckram. But as the study of Latin declined in American colleges, so did sales of the dictionary; the price rose in the 1940's, and had reached twenty dollars when the American edition went out of print in 1954. By agreement with the American Book Company, Oxford University Press in New York has, since 1956, supplied the American market by importing copies of the Clarendon Press edition. But even though their copies lack the old title, "Harpers' Latin Dictionary," Clarendon still pays royalties to the American Book Company under the original Harper and Brothers Contract of 1878.<sup>27</sup>

During the years that the American scholars' dictionary held the field, the lexicographers at Oxford and Cambridge were pressing forward towards their ideal of a complete and accurate lexicon. Henry Nettleship (1839-1893) published the results of many years of study in his *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* (Oxford, 1889). Professor Mayor (1825-1910) filled up the margins of three copies of Lewis and Short with words and examples from other lexicons and from his own reading: "When they say a word is rare, I write *not* in the margin; why they dare to say that *adjutorium* is rare; from Theodore Priscian alone I have gleaned 740 instances." The story is told of Mayor's dismay at being unable to find an annotated copy of the impudent fellows' book, and sending out alarms to journals, scholars, and booksellers in case a thief should try to sell it. When the treasure finally came to light,

<sup>27</sup> A copy of the contract (5 Feb. 1878) is in the Clarendon Press file at A. B. C., New York (now part of Litton Educational Publishing, Inc.). This file also contains the agreement between A. B. C. and O. U. P. about American sales after 1954. The earliest edition by A. B. C. has their imprint, together with the legend: Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. Printings after 1907 omit the Oxford imprint. A. B. C. has records only of the last (called the "ninth") printing of the dictionary, in 1948-1,500 copies. The "Addenda" appear to have been collected by Lewis (Letter of 15 Oct. 1904 in A. B. C. file on C. T. Lewis). The prices are from old catalogues at A. B. C. They still have Lewis' *Elementary Latin Dictionary* in print. British copies of the big dictionary lack the "Addenda," and have a few verbal variations in the text of the "Advertisement," and a slightly different title page: A / Latin Dictionary / Founded on Andrews' Edition of / Freund's Latin Dictionary / Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Rewritten / by / Charlton T. Lewis, Ph.D. / and / Charles Short, LL.D. / Professor of Latin in Columbia College, New York / Oxford / At the Clarendon Press. Copies are recorded with dates: 1879, 1880, 1890, 1907, 1922, 1933, 1951, 1955, 1958, 1962, and 1969. Additions and corrections to Lewis and Short have been published in *Classical Review* by W. R. Inge, VIII (1894), 25-27; R. L. Dunbabin, XLVIII (1934), 212-214, and XLIX (1935), 9-12; W. S. Maguinness, L (1936), 9-10; and G. B. A. Fletcher, L (1936), 165-166. See also W. A. Laidlaw, "Lewis and Short: Some *Corrigenda* and *Addenda*," *Hermathena*, No. 68 (Nov. 1946), 32-45.



it appeared not to have been stolen at all, but only used by a maid to replace the lost foot of a chest of drawers.

Mayor's pupil, Alexander Souter, filled up two more copies of Lewis and Short; many of the new words and examples are from texts that were written outside of Italy, and had never been read by Forcellini. In the *Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A. D.* (Oxford, 1949), Souter gives a selection of his and Mayor's findings.<sup>28</sup>

The lexicographical endeavors of the two great universities are now culminating in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968-), which was begun for the Clarendon Press under the editorship of Souter from 1933 to 1939, with J. M. Wyllie as assistant editor and later general editor, followed by others after 1954. According to the "Publisher's Note," the dictionary presents, in a format similar to that of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the results of "an entirely fresh reading" of the Latin texts, as far as the end of the second century A. D. This work is scheduled to be completed in 1982, and will largely replace Lewis and Short. But it is a good record of survival for the "useful dictionary" which in its latest form was "mainly the work of a busy lawyer in New York."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> On Mayor, see T. R. Glover, *Cambridge Retrospect* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 85-86. On Mayor and Souter, see Alexander Souter, "Preface" to his *Glossary*, pp. iii-iv.

<sup>29</sup> J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, III, 468.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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MARY HYDE is a member of the University Library Visiting Committee of the Harvard Board of Overseers, a Trustee of the Pierpont Morgan Library, a member of the Council of the Friends of the Columbia University Libraries, and a member of the Yale Library Associates; some of her other activities as author and collector have been mentioned in the "Contributors" department for January, April, and July 1972.

JOHN MAYNARD is Assistant Professor of English at Harvard. His Harvard dissertation (1970) was on "Robert Browning's Early Environment."

DAVID PEIRCE is writing a dissertation at Harvard on "Crime and Society in London, 1829-1873"; he is the author of numerous articles, was a co-editor of *A Select Bibliography of History* (3rd ed., 1966), and since 1968 has been a Samuel Andrew Stouffer Fellow at the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.

FRANCIS JACQUES SYPHER, JR. is Assistant Professor of English at the State University of New York at Albany; his dissertation at Columbia (1968) was "A Study of Swinburne's Poetry."